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James J. Kimble  
*Seton Hall University*

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# THE MILITARIZATION OF THE PRAIRIE SCRAP DRIVES, METAPHORS, AND THE OMAHA WORLD-HERALD'S 1942 "NEBRASKA PLAN"

JAMES J. KIMBLE

*We cannot win battles without guns and equipment. We cannot make the steel for these guns and that equipment without scrap.*

—Robert W. Wolcott, Lukens Steel president, 1942

Some of the most unusual weapons deployed by the United States in World War II hailed from Phelps County, Nebraska. For over thirty years, two cannons had flanked the entrance to the county courthouse, serving as a memorial to the Civil War. In July 1942, county officials directed that the cannons be removed; they were again to serve as munitions in an American conflict. From Washington,

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*James J. Kimble (PhD, University of Maryland) is Assistant Professor of Communication at Seton Hall University. His research focuses on domestic propaganda, war rhetoric, and visual imagery, and has appeared in the Quarterly Journal of Speech, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, and the Southern Communication Journal. An earlier version of this essay was presented at the 2006 regional meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Lincoln, Nebraska.*

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President Roosevelt himself lauded the county's sacrifice and suggested that others might consider making a similar contribution to the war effort.<sup>1</sup>

Not even the president was certain, of course, that the cannons would still function after nearly eighty years on display. It hardly mattered. Phelps County's cannons were valuable not for their functionality but for their content: fourteen tons of iron. These venerable weapons of war would be weighed, transported to a foundry, melted down, and recast into new, more advanced munitions. They might ultimately find their way into American battle lines as bullets, tanks, ships, or planes.

Such munitions, however, were increasingly in short supply in the summer of 1942. The government's war planners had warned as early as January that the nation's provisions of scrap metal were becoming dangerously inadequate. American stores of scrap were "said to be so low that at New Year's only one month's supply was on hand."<sup>2</sup> With steel plants beginning to slow or even halt their production in both Detroit

and Youngstown, the truth was becoming as evident as it was unthinkable: without more scrap iron supplying the nation's factories, U.S. forces would soon begin to run out of munitions with which to fight.<sup>3</sup>

There was, to be sure, no nationwide shortage of scrap on the home front. In backyards, attics, barns, ditches, garages, and factory storage sheds across the country, all sorts of scrap material awaited transport and eventual conversion to arms. Yet the public's awareness of the scrap, and the national willpower necessary to collect it, seemed to be missing.

Among the many people who found themselves obsessed with the scrap problem in the summer of 1942 was Henry Doorly, the publisher of Nebraska's largest daily, the *Omaha World-Herald*. In early July, Doorly read in his own newspaper about the scrap situation. Discussing the problem with his wife, Margaret Hitchcock Doorly, he realized that "while he could not do the job for the nation, he could at least do it in Nebraska, thereby setting an example for the nation."<sup>4</sup> He began to draft plans for a statewide scrap drive, one that would eventually be nicknamed "the Nebraska plan."<sup>5</sup> The newspaper's plan produced an intensive effort that prompted the state's citizens to locate and turn in over 67,000 tons of scrap material in only three weeks. That yield, including Phelps County's cannons, amounted to an unprecedented 102 pounds of scrap for every Nebraskan.<sup>6</sup> By late September, newspapers across the country—with the backing of the Roosevelt administration—had adopted Doorly's plan for a nationwide scrap drive. In May 1943, the *World-Herald* was informed that its work on both drives had won a Pulitzer Prize for "the most distinguished and meritorious public service" by a newspaper in 1942.<sup>7</sup>

Over sixty years later, the Nebraska Plan and its role in World War II are almost forgotten.<sup>8</sup> Driven perhaps by the unassailable mythos of the conflict as "the best war ever," collective memory tends to forget that there was a time when the war's outcome was uncertain.<sup>9</sup> Although historians have begun to focus on some of the war's more unpopular elements,

little has been written about the dismaying shortage of scrap metal in 1942 and the danger it posed to the American war effort. Even less has been written about the *World-Herald's* three-week scrap drive, a feat that could, with only some hyperbole, be described as the horseshoe nail without which the war would have been lost.<sup>10</sup>

My aim in this essay is in part to reanimate that scrap drive, highlighting an overlooked aspect of the home front's role in the war. At the same time, my goal is to scrutinize the *World-Herald's* Nebraska Plan as a case study in the art of persuasive campaigns. Previous scrap drives had been notable failures, suggesting that Doorly's plan was something new and significant.<sup>11</sup> This essay attempts to account for the Nebraska Plan's success by examining it as an intensive domestic propaganda campaign, one that used symbols to mobilize the state's citizens into "a much larger, embodied whole," even as they competed against one another in the contest.<sup>12</sup>

This emphasis on domestic propaganda emerges from a growing strand of scholarship that explores how symbols were used to motivate people on the World War II home front. By examining what propagandists once called "the engineering of consent," such research attempts to better explain the means by which those who experienced the war from afar managed to develop "the remarkable unanimity of purpose that pervaded wartime America."<sup>13</sup> In a more localized sense, the essay grows out of a recent flowering of interest in the Great Plains during the war. Once marginalized as an unimportant feature of the war experience, the nation's heartland has emerged as an essential aspect of the World War II home front.<sup>14</sup> What follows will, I hope, reinforce the growing recognition that although those who lived on the prairie were far from the battle fronts, their contributions to the war effort were noteworthy.

One of the most significant of those contributions was the *World-Herald's* 1942 scrap drive. An analysis of the campaign suggests that it was effective because it deftly balanced appeals to *competition* and to *militarized unity*.

This essay explores each of these appeals in turn. The first section of the essay explores the campaign's competitive aspects, focusing in part on its "horse race" reports. The second section shows how the campaign relied on militarizing and unifying metaphors to counterbalance the ferocity of that competition. The essay concludes by assessing the campaign's national impact. In particular, it shows how the Nebraska Plan directly influenced the first nationwide scrap drive, held in September and October 1942. It also suggests that the *World-Herald's* localized propaganda effort—headquartered not in Washington, DC, but in Omaha—was an important precursor to the decentralized propaganda that became so familiar to those on the home front.

#### COMPETITION, CONTENTION, AND CRESCENDO

As Henry Doorly was envisioning his Nebraska Plan in early July 1942, he was well aware of the government's failed attempts to motivate the public to collect scrap for the war effort. Although there were more than 12,000 salvage committees in the United States by that point in the conflict, their activities inspired little interest.<sup>15</sup> Paul Cabot, deputy director of the War Production Board's Conservation Division, admitted that the nation's 125,000 scrap volunteers lacked both "stimulation and leadership." Without them, he added, "you have nothing but a committee in name and it doesn't operate [*sic*]."<sup>16</sup> The situation was so dismal that the government's salvage representative in Nebraska pointed out to Doorly that the state had already turned in fifteen pounds of scrap per capita in 1942 and that "he didn't think we could get very much more."<sup>17</sup>

The *World-Herald's* publisher considered this dour approach and concluded that the newspaper would need to take a different plan of attack. "It had to be something personal," he later said, "something sharp enough to overcome the lack" evident in previous drives.<sup>18</sup> What Doorly pictured, explained the *Saturday Evening Post*, was a drive that "was not burdened

by co-ordinators who had to devote time to co-ordinating co-ordinators who were co-ordinating other co-ordinators."<sup>19</sup> Of course, the problem with such a grassroots approach was in motivating the citizens themselves to embrace scrap collection. Doorly's solution was to turn the project into an enormous contest, complete with publicity and prizes.

On Saturday, July 11, the *World-Herald* featured a front-page invitation, under Doorly's hand, for every Nebraskan to listen to a radio message "about a matter that is of real and earnest importance to all of us," to be delivered later that evening.<sup>20</sup> In the address, the publisher carefully outlined the present scrap situation, explaining that munitions factories were beginning to shut down "[b]ecause the farms and attics and basements and back yards in this country have millions of tons of scrap metal, but the average American hasn't bothered to turn it in to the government." He proposed that Nebraska's response to the problem would be a grand scrap competition to be held from July 19 to August 8. "In this contest," he said, "county will be pitted against county on a per capita basis, firm against firm, individual against individual, and junior groups against junior groups. And the *World-Herald* will pay two thousand dollars (present value) in war bonds to the winners."<sup>21</sup>

The response to Doorly's challenging address was immediate. As *Life* noted a few months later, just three minutes after the publisher left the radio station, "Mrs. Helen Dodendorf, an Omaha housewife, called the newspaper to report an abandoned pile of steel rails that she knew about."<sup>22</sup> By the next day, plans were already in place for the first major rally of the contest. The rally took place on Monday, July 14—five days before the competition would officially begin. A few thousand people showed up, each bringing the price of admission: at least five pounds of scrap material for the drive.<sup>23</sup>

This initial rally was sponsored by the Union Pacific Railroad, a fact that prompted Burlington, the state's other major railroad at the time, to approach the *World-Herald*

about its own involvement. J. M. Harding, Doorly's assistant and the scrap drive's de facto manager, recalled that "the president of the Burlington Railroad . . . walked into the office and said, 'We are ready, we have come here to go to work; we are going to show the Union Pacific that we know how to get scrap.'" <sup>24</sup> The initial Burlington rally, held in Lincoln on July 17, was followed by several others across the state. <sup>25</sup> With the railroad rivals each trying to outdo the other even before the drive's start, the value of Doorly's notion of a contest for scrap material was becoming obvious. Months later, the *World-Herald* acknowledged as much, suggesting that other states should "[j]ust get a rivalry going—as the Union Pacific and Burlington rivalry in Nebraska—and tons of the metal will be dug up." <sup>26</sup>

As the official start of the contest neared, the state's ninety-three counties began to gird themselves for the competition. The *Holdrege Daily Citizen* proclaimed in a full-page advertisement that "Phelps County is going all out to win the state-wide scrap metal and rubber contest." "Let's start now," it continued optimistically, "and never let up for the three weeks of the contest, striving for 100 pounds per person." <sup>27</sup> Washington County had similar plans for the top prize. "This county," reported the *World-Herald*, "which has emerged near the top in every wartime salvage drive to date, got ready today to try again for top honors." The county's citizens revealed that they were confident that "[t]here won't even be a needle left in a Washington county [sic] haystack when the Nebraska salvage contest is over." <sup>28</sup>

Such confident predictions created a great buildup for the drive's opening day. Marking the start of the contest, the *McCook Daily Gazette* sponsored an advertisement that screamed "Let's Go McCook and Red Willow County! 'GET IN THE SCRAP!'" "So it's a race!" continued the ad. "County vs. County, club vs. club. Everyone in competition for the prizes, but working together to start Nebraska scrap on its way to Tokio [sic] and Berlin." <sup>29</sup> Similar attitudes were expressed by many other state newspapers. As the *World-Herald* pointed

out a few days later, "It was jingle, jangle, jingle all over the state Monday as Nebraskans tossed their spurs and practically everything else onto salvage contest scrap heaps that were growing by the ton." <sup>30</sup>

With such widespread competitiveness, it was no wonder that the drive began to develop "all the dramatic aspects of a hard-fought battle." <sup>31</sup> The focus of the battle quickly became the *World-Herald's* official county standings. Each county seat collected daily scrap totals for its area and telegraphed the results to Omaha. <sup>32</sup> Beginning on July 23, the newspaper published the standings for every county, ranking them by their accumulated per capita scrap totals. Other newspapers across the state published them, too. As *Life* noted, the published standings attracted so much attention that the race "took on all the enthusiasm of a Big Ten conference championship." <sup>33</sup>

Media coverage of the standings began to reflect this enthusiasm. Next to the initial rankings, for example, the *World-Herald* reported that "Dawes county [sic] . . . jumped into the saddle today and rode roughshod into the lead in the Nebraska salvage contest." "Showing no mercy for its competitors," continued the account, "Dawes reported total scrap collections of 202 thousand pounds." <sup>34</sup> Two days later, the *Norfolk Daily News* recounted that "[o]ne of the most sparsely populated counties of Nebraska leads the state today in the per capita collection of scrap metal. It is Hooker county [sic], which with a population of only 1,253 has contributed . . . 26.45 pounds for each of its residents." <sup>35</sup> On July 27, Red Willow County took over the lead, and Hooker County fell into fourth place—even though its scrappers were "battling valiantly." <sup>36</sup> Then, on the 29th, the standings "went tumbling . . . when that mighty midget of the sandhills country, Grant county [sic], made its first report." <sup>37</sup> As these and other accounts demonstrated, the *World-Herald's* emphasis on competition was beginning to pay dividends.

Still, not everyone embraced the positive aspects of competition. Intercounty rivalries occasionally boiled over to the point that "some counties actually charged the other



FIG. 1. The Omaha "Scrap Mountain" (Evening World-Herald, July 25, 1942). Reprinted with permission from the Omaha World-Herald.

counties with coming over and stealing their scrap."<sup>38</sup> A particularly bitter rivalry developed between Washington County and neighboring Burt County. On July 23, a subheadline in the *Blair Pilot-Tribune* read "Burt County Puts Washington to Shame in Initial Report—11.95 Pounds Per Capita Against This County's Mere Five Ounces!" The related story lamented that "there will be no bragging done this week about how well Washington County is doing in the big statewide scrap salvage contest." "The fact is," concluded the story, "this county is not doing so well."<sup>39</sup> As the county's scrap totals continued to lag, the *Pilot-Tribune* began to ridicule those who "JUST COULDN'T FIND A WAY to send in the junk." "Too busy, are you, pal?" asked the newspaper. "Too hard a job, is it? Something more important, first, eh? Pleasant dreams, then."<sup>40</sup> Clearly, the contest was developing its share of disturbing appeals.

For the most part, however, the scrap competition produced healthy results in the early part of the campaign. In Omaha, for instance, the city's so-called Scrap Mountain went over 600,000 pounds on the third full day of collections.<sup>41</sup> The pile grew so quickly that it became a tourist attraction. Within a week its border fence had "been set back twice"; then it was removed and the scrap pile was allowed to fill up a complete city block (Fig. 1).<sup>42</sup> While lower population figures ensured that other piles across Nebraska were more modest, the overall totals were still impressive. Statewide, the first week of the competition spurred Nebraskans to find and turn in 8,664,106 pounds of scrap material.<sup>43</sup>

Yet many of the participants felt that the rate of scrap collection was still too slow. Soon the state's newspapers began to urge readers to work even harder in a wild crescendo of scrap

activity. The *World-Herald* wrote that it was hoping to see “a rip-snorting, blood-in-the-eye tussle the coming week.”<sup>44</sup> The *Holdrege Daily Citizen*, quoting Phelps County Salvage Chairman R. C. Brown, advised citizens to “hit the ball so hard for the next four days that other counties in the competition won’t even know they were in the race.”<sup>45</sup> On its front page, the *McCook Daily Gazette* said that “[i]t will require the efforts of every man, woman and child who is able if Red Willow is to move from fifth into first place in the salvage contest standings in the next two days. Everyone will have to contribute . . . if Red Willow is to take the lead—not this person or that person but EVERYONE!”<sup>46</sup>

As the crescendo of activity swelled, the competition continued to grow more and more dramatic. “Down the home stretch come Nebraska’s ninety-three counties today in the scrap metal collection race,” wrote the *Norfolk Daily News*.<sup>47</sup> Hooker County’s accumulated 199 pounds of scrap per capita enabled it to take the lead again, even as Madison County—previously stuck in the middle of the rankings—suddenly shot up to sixth place.<sup>48</sup> Still, well-organized Phelps County remained confident, explaining that “the county per capita total is only a few meager pounds behind the leaders in the contest.”<sup>49</sup> With the end of the competition not far away, county after county began to engage in ever more furious scrapping activities.

Even Governor Dwight Griswold joined in the drama. In an official proclamation, he declared August 7 “as Harvest Festival Day for every village, town and city of the state, when everyone will cover every inch of home, attic, basement, yard and business place, to gather scrap not previously delivered.” The following day would be, he declared, “Farm Scrap Holiday in Nebraska, when every farmer will turn from his field work and devote himself to collecting and taking to his nearest town, the scrap metal our soldiers must have.”<sup>50</sup> Although the governor did not take sides in the race, it was evident that he wanted an exciting finish.

Accordingly, the final weekend of the campaign featured the most intense competition

of the entire drive. Citizens across the state followed the governor’s admonition by dropping their normal routine for full-time scrap duty. These last “two days of the campaign,” wrote *Editor and Publisher*, “found Nebraska working at fever pitch, with volunteer men and women scouring for scrap throughout the day and far into the night.” Their labors recovered “[t]ons of dormant scrap, long-forgotten caches of metal, unsightly city water tanks, steel rail buried under flooded river banks, bridges abandoned and forgotten, debris left after fires, [and] ancient tractors in farm gulleys.” It was a fitting finale, concluded the magazine, for “a campaign packed with fervor, a campaign that always rivalled [*sic*] and often exceeded the war news in dramatic appeal.”<sup>51</sup>

The urgent rally of the drive’s last few days jumbled the final county standings once more. It turned out that tiny Grant County, population 1,327, had accumulated 638 pounds of scrap per capita, becoming the winner of the *World-Herald*’s top prize of \$1,000 in war bonds.<sup>52</sup> Yet most of the participants in the contest acknowledged that “[t]he prizes seemed important at first, but as the campaign developed, the great American competitive spirit ran away with the show, irrespective of prizes.”<sup>53</sup> Typical was fourth-place Red Willow County’s reaction, which pointed to “the satisfaction of giving the other counties a race for the money and having set the pace in the early stages of the drive for others.” On a broader stage, the county was proud of “having played an important part in Nebraska setting an example for the other 47 states.”<sup>54</sup>

These competitive sentiments, even in defeat, underline the vital importance of the contest aspect of the scrap drive. A *World-Herald* advertisement early in the campaign had asked, “What is Nebraska’s most patriotic county? Which will organize best and pitch in to collect the greatest number of pounds of scrap per capita? The race is on. The competition is hot.”<sup>55</sup> True to these words, the competitive approach of the scrap drive was clearly an indispensable ingredient in its success. Nebraskans were caught up in the competition

and the drama it provided. The handbook for the national scrap drive, held a few months later, reflected this lesson by emphasizing that the scrap standings "speak for themselves. They arouse the competitive spirit." "The value of a contest," concluded the handbook, "cannot be over-stated."<sup>56</sup>

However, while the competitive nature of the *World-Herald's* drive was essential to its success, the desire for competition alone could not have been sufficient to produce such a tremendous statewide showing. After all, the very nature of competition is agonistic, pitting one element or team or individual against another, or many others. Yet despite the occasional competitive excess, the contest evidently facilitated more state unity, not less. During the contest, "Nebraska had become one community with a single thought."<sup>57</sup> So how did the Nebraska Plan avoid the wholesale fragmentation of the state into squabbling entities? One possibility, discussed in the next section of the essay, is that Doorly's scrap campaign was insightful enough to balance its competitive approach with appeals to a militarized unity.

#### MILITARIZATION, METAPHORS, AND MUNITIONS

The *World-Herald's* contest was officially finished on August 8, 1942. With over 67,000 tons of scrap material accumulated in only three weeks, many Nebraskans were physically and emotionally exhausted. Remarkably, however, in the month immediately following the drive the state's citizens turned in nearly 10,000 more tons of scrap.<sup>58</sup> Nebraskans were apparently still motivated to collect scrap long after drive officials had awarded the prizes. Clearly, there was something more going on here than a mere contest. The *World-Herald* later attempted to explain the campaign's long-term impact on the state, suggesting that although "it began with one man and one newspaper," it soon "grew into a united effort by all the people of Nebraska." The drive had become, it concluded, "a mighty crusade."<sup>59</sup>

The roots of that crusade mentality lay within the media's consistent militarization of the scrap drive. According to this outlook, the campaign was a call to every Nebraskan to enact an urgent role as a home-front soldier. In this role, the word "scrap" became the equivalent of a battlefield soldier's munitions. This new meaning contributed to citizens' awareness of their militarized role in the war and of the urgent need to meet the drive's goals. Ultimately, the militarization of both Nebraska's scrap and its civilians enabled the campaign to reconstruct the potentially fractious contestants as unified in a transcendent patriotic effort.

The militarization of the scrap drive began in a series of metaphoric appeals in newspapers across the state. One initial function of the metaphors was to alter Nebraskans' mental image of SCRAP.<sup>60</sup> The average person's mental picture of SCRAP prior to the drive likely included such elements as wasted material, junk, dump piles, rusted metal, trash, and so on. But in a series of verbal and visual appeals, the drive's publicity worked to overlay this usual conception of SCRAP with the elements of another concept: MUNITIONS.

The metaphoric description of all sorts of scrap in terms of munitions during the campaign required a certain level of creativity. Vice Admiral S. M. Robinson, chief of the Naval Bureau of Procurement and Material, pointed out that "it takes imagination to translate an old and rusty crowbar into the casing of a shell for one of our battleship guns." Newspapers, he suggested, "must bring vividly home to the people the picture of steel as the backbone of our ships and planes and guns and show them how they can help to make that backbone strong."<sup>61</sup> Of course, the fact that collected scrap *would* ultimately become munitions for the war effort was helpful in portraying it as such, even if it was still in the form of a rusted bicycle, an antique safe, or a disused tractor. As the *World-Herald* explained to its readers, "half of every tank that rolls from United States factories is made from scrap. Half of every ship launched is scrap. And, half of scrap, too, is



every bomb casing dropped and every shell fired at the enemy.”<sup>62</sup>

Echoing this knowledge, the three-week campaign consistently merged the mental images of SCRAP and MUNITIONS, constructing a vivid conceptual hybrid. While the mental image of SCRAP would still involve the traditional understanding of rusted piles of used material, repeated exposure to variations on the SCRAP IS A MUNITION metaphor would begin to broaden that original concept. The very idea of SCRAP would begin to involve some of the elements traditionally belonging to the idea of MUNITIONS. Before long, it would make sense to suggest that scrap was a “bullet,” that it could “strike” Hitler, or that it could “bomb” Japan. After all, those are all ways that literal munitions could be used in a war effort.

Such metaphoric language depicting the state’s scrap as a kind of weapon appeared even before the *World-Herald* contest officially opened. A full-page advertisement for the initial Union Pacific rally, for example, informed readers that they should bring scrap to the rally “for guns-planes-ships-tanks” and that they could “help beat the Axis with your scrap.”<sup>63</sup> At the Burlington rally, the state salvage chairman, Mark T. Caster, told the assembled crowd that “[i]n 1937 we shipped Japan six million tons of scrap metals. You want to see the day when we will resume delivery of our scrap metal to Japan, but in the form of bombs.”<sup>64</sup> On the eve of the contest, Nebraskans were already encountering verbal messages suggesting that the scrap metal objects that they would find in ditches, barns, and backyards were actually munitions destined for battle.

As the campaign went forward, variations on the SCRAP IS A MUNITION metaphor became quite common in Nebraska. Finding even the most remote pieces of scrap could mean “an extra machine gun when the going is tough, or perhaps another bomb when that next flight is made over Tokyo.”<sup>65</sup> The drive’s “scrap bombs” would soon “be rammed down Hitler’s throat,” even as “Nebraska’s Scrap” would soon “Lick the Jap!”<sup>66</sup> The *World-Herald*, observing the addition of several World War I-era German



FIG. 2. *Scrap metal as munitions* (Evening *World-Herald*, July 20, 1942). Reprinted with permission from the *Omaha World-Herald*; courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society.

medals to the scrap mountain, suggested that “maybe we can pin them all on the chest of Hitler in the form of a shell.”<sup>67</sup> And the *North Platte Daily Telegraph* barked that “It’s not JUNK . . . it’s a GUN . . . it’s a PLANE . . . it’s a SHIP . . . it’s a TANK. Get in The Scrap, NOW!”<sup>68</sup> Again and again, Nebraska’s newspapers used this sort of powerful language to transform mundane metal objects into the weapons of war.

The metaphoric transformation of scrap into munitions appeared in visual formats as well.<sup>69</sup> On July 20, the *World-Herald* displayed in its lead story a photograph of Mrs. J. J. Stewart, an Omaha resident involved in the scrap drive (Fig. 2). In the picture, Stewart appears in the midst of a high pile of scrap material. Her serious expression and distant gaze instantly portray an aura of determination and commitment. The element of the picture that captures the viewer’s eye, however, is what appears to be an exhaust pipe that Stewart holds. The pipe would, of course, be useless as a weapon, except perhaps as a blunt instrument.

Yet Stewart holds the pipe in what is unmistakably the port arms position, akin to a soldier's rifle. Metaphorically, in other words, the photograph depicts her as holding a weapon of war, even as her expression and stance indicate that she is ready for battle. The caption reinforces this impression, suggesting that "she and other Omaha housewives are scrap-ironing the axis [sic]."<sup>70</sup>

Stewart's grim photograph was another indication that the metaphor SCRAP IS A MUNITION was working as a subtext in the drive's publicity, subtly encouraging readers to understand their scrap material in a significantly new way. Yet the depiction of Stewart herself *deploying* the munitions reveals that a closely related second metaphor was in play as well. With this second metaphor, CIVILIANS ARE SOLDIERS, the campaign's publicity encouraged contestants to view *themselves* in an important new way. Where their previous mental image of a CIVILIAN had most likely included elements such as living at home, laboring in some way for income or sustenance, building community relationships, and so on, the campaign's overlay of elements from the concept of SOLDIERS urged them toward a new understanding of civilians as those who could "march," "attack," and even "fire" their metaphoric munitions.<sup>71</sup>

Throughout the three weeks of the scrap drive, the media featured dozens of variations on this CIVILIANS ARE SOLDIERS metaphor. Lincoln County residents were told that "[s]alvage is *your* fight!"<sup>72</sup> Governor Griswold in a radio address "appealed to Nebraskans as a great fighting people to plunge into the scrap metal campaign."<sup>73</sup> Phelps County salvage officials told residents that "[w]e've got boys in the fighting service . . . let's do a little fighting on our own front."<sup>74</sup> The *North Platte Daily Telegraph* featured an editorial cartoon captioned "Full of Scrap," which depicted a balding gentleman, dressed formally, riding a small tank and raising his fist toward the battle-front.<sup>75</sup> Most poignant perhaps was the July 26 reappearance of Stewart's "port arms" image, featured this time atop a full-page *World-Herald*

advertisement for the scrap drive. "Nebraska's Women," blared the main text, "*Have Gone to War!*" In slightly smaller print, the ad remarked that "[t]he women, God bless 'em, have gone to War as surely as if they were embarking for the front with a tommy-gun under each arm!"<sup>76</sup> In each of these instances, the scrap campaign's publicity reinforced the changing mental image of CIVILIANS. No longer were they noncombatants in a distant war; in these symbolic appeals they had been transformed into a metaphoric home-front army, one fully equipped with growing piles of lethal scrap.

The ultimate resolution of these militarizing metaphors, as I have suggested, was the symbolic construction of unity within the state. Even as citizens competed against each other for prizes in the scrap contest, the *World-Herald's* campaign consistently depicted them as an army of Nebraskans, one united in a common patriotic goal. Advertisements for and feature articles on the drive, for example, often displayed the U.S. flag, a bald eagle, or Uncle Sam as patriotic symbols validating the public's militarized mission. Collecting scrap, it became clear, was important not only for the contest, or to supply weapons in the fight, but as a way for this newly united army of civilians to "[w]in for America!"<sup>77</sup>

The most intriguing of such motivational appeals to unity appeared in a full-page advertisement in the *World-Herald* on July 30. This ad featured a militant Uncle Sam, complete with a rifle and bayonet, proclaiming: "Mr. and Mrs. Nebraska Farmer: It's Up to YOU to Set the Pace for All America!" (Fig. 3).<sup>78</sup> In the ad, the most prominent feature is a farm family walking purposefully toward the viewer's left. At first glance, there is nothing especially remarkable about the family, beyond their cheerful and attractive appearance. However, a closer look at their composition and relative positioning makes it clear that they are in fact a modern-day parallel to the three marching patriots in Archibald Willard's painting *Spirit of '76* (Fig. 4).

Willard's iconic image, although over eighty years old by the time of the scrap

EVENING WORLD-HERALD: OMAHA, NEB. THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1942

# MR. AND MRS. NEBRASKA FARMER:

## It's up to **YOU** to set the pace for **All America!**

The eyes of the nation are watching Nebraska . . . watching Nebraska farmers in particular, for there is a ton or more of scrap on every farm . . . and getting the scrap off the farm is the biggest job.

Everyone realizes that the farmer is busy, busier now than ever before, but the farmer is just as patriotic as the next fellow and we're betting Nebraska's farmers will dig in and do an even better job than their city brothers.

Every American must realize today, right now, that American boys are scattered all over the world . . . that hundreds of these boys are dying every day to protect us, our homes, and our way of living. Is it necessary for us to wait until the Japs start landing on our western shores before we really take action? Hardly any of us will want to be around if Hitler and his gang of cut-throats take over. Hardly any of us think he will, but he may unless we do everything within our power to prevent him . . . and one of the very best ways of helping keep America free is to do our job now . . . completely!

Mr. and Mrs. Farmer, we know we can depend on you. Won't you please get your scrap in this week? See the Salvage Committee located in your nearest town . . . we're sure they are all set to give you every assistance.



FIG. 3. *Farm family in the manner of Spirit of '76* (Evening World-Herald, July 30, 1942). Reprinted with permission from the Omaha World-Herald; courtesy of the Douglas County Historical Society.

drive, was still quite well known, having been wildly popular on the home front during both the Spanish-American War and World War I.<sup>79</sup> By borrowing imagery from this famous expression of rugged patriotism, the *World-Herald's* advertisement was thus tapping into a particularly rich vein of traditional Americanism. The friendly-looking farm family, the ad implied, was an ideal representation of unity and patriotic zeal in the face of adversity. Readers, even as they identified with the family, were at the same time identifying with the patriotic heritage the family represented. To complete the ad's connection to the militarized mission of the home front, the artist helpfully drew a dotted line leading from the family members to three marching soldiers, who, like the Uncle Sam above, were carrying rifles. Here, then, was a comprehensive

appeal suggesting that scrappers were not only enacting a patriotic duty but also were united in their effort with soldiers of the past and soldiers of the present. Their symbolic militarization, in other words, was the means by which competing civilians could see themselves as a unified, patriotic force.

In this way, the *World-Herald's* campaign used militarizing metaphoric appeals to construct an ongoing sense of united duty on the Nebraska home front. These appeals acted as a counterbalance to the agonistic elements of the contest. There was no doubt that individuals and counties competed fiercely during the campaign. Yet the drive's publicity continuously portrayed that competition as being in service to the higher goal of becoming a unified home-front army, one that could work together to find and turn in munitions to defeat the





FIG. 4. Archibald Willard, "Barton's Gift," commonly known as "Spirit of '76." Courtesy of the Herrick Memorial Library, Wellington, Ohio. Photograph by Mark Fundak.

Axis. As *Editor and Publisher* explained, "the whole state was deeply absorbed in the task of salvage—in a spirit both of rivalry and of unity." The drive itself, concluded the magazine, had made the state "more determined than ever to stay united, and to sacrifice for victory."<sup>80</sup>

To be sure, the appeals that constructed this unity were not literally true—everyone in Nebraska knew that fenders were not bombers and that twelve-year-old scrappers were not GIs. Yet the motivation supplied by these symbolic appeals was apparently so strong that their metaphoric nature was irrelevant to the average campaign participant. Nebraskans were never in reality home-front soldiers firing scrap munitions at the enemy. Yet there was no doubt that they were, in both spirit and in emotion, "in the scrap." Even Henry Doorly, planning the operation in early July 1942, would have been astonished at the achievements made possible by that belief.

## CONCLUSION

On September 4, 1942, Lessing J. Rosenwald, director of the War Production Board's (WPB) Conservation Division, called to order an unusual meeting in Washington, DC. Over 150 publishers from newspapers throughout the country were present. Trying to convince these influential journalists of the urgent need for a national scrap drive were several well-known speakers from the Roosevelt administration, including Donald M. Nelson, WPB chairman, and Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information (OWI). The stars of the meeting, however, were Henry Doorly and his assistant, J. M. Harding.

The meeting featured a lively discussion of the Nebraska Plan. Both Doorly and Harding, present by the special request of WPB, spoke in detail about the *World-Herald's* three-week drive and its outcome. Doorly introduced the campaign as "a Billy Sunday revival, combined with a horse race." Harding then offered logistical detail on the drive, concluding that a national drive patterned after the Nebraska Plan "is something that the newspapers can handle."<sup>81</sup> After two hours, the publishers were convinced, and they voted overwhelmingly to sponsor a national version of Doorly's plan.

The complex preparations for the national campaign prompted a number of commentators to hail the *World-Herald's* drive as an influential precursor and model. *Editor and Publisher*, for instance, lauded the state's effort, pointing out that "[n]o other state has yet carried on a scrap collection campaign which reached into every home." *Advertising Age* expressed hope that the national drive would "enable other states to rival the magnificent record already made by the citizens of Nebraska." And the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, on the eve of the national effort, admitted that "Nebraska is the only state in the nation to have conducted the type of blitz scrap iron and steel drive which Virginia jumps into tomorrow."<sup>82</sup> As for the Roosevelt administration, WPB's Rosenwald confessed at the newspaper editors' meeting that the *World-*

*Herald's* successful scrap campaign "caused us to do some fresh thinking on the subject of salvage."<sup>83</sup>

The Nebraska Plan's influence was evident in the national scrap drive itself, which was held from September 28 to October 17, 1942. Much like the *World-Herald's* campaign, this one featured heated competition. Ten days before the start of the drive, for example, Kansas offered a statewide challenge to its northern neighbor, confident that its scrappers would "surpass any Nebraska effort." "'We've never sat by in Kansas and let Nebraska beat us in anything,' said [Oscar] Stauffer [head of the Stauffer newspaper chain]. 'We won't let Nebraska beat us in scrap collection.'" In response, proud Nebraskans pointed to "Kansas' singular lack of success in defeating . . . [the] Cornhuskers in football."<sup>84</sup> Although Kansas did eventually win the challenge—and lead the nation as well—the competition once more proved to be a motivation for many on both sides.<sup>85</sup>

Yet the national competition also fostered a spirit of esprit de corps. Citizens across the country "worked by the millions to root out steel and iron junk. Nothing was too small for them—they turned in keys—nor too big for them—they tore up old locomotives." Here were "[e]ager Americans on a treasure hunt," wrote the *World-Herald*, giving "a thrilling display . . . of what a people could do when united for a single purpose: Work to win the war."<sup>86</sup> This time, with 1,800 dailies and 10,000 weekly newspapers involved in the campaign, no less than 94 percent of the population worked hard to find scrap, increasing the national stockpile to almost 5,000,000 tons.<sup>87</sup> While each of the scrappers was well aware of the interest aroused by the competition, the true race, summarized *Washington Post* columnist Raymond Clapper, was "with Hitler, and it's a hotter race than we had expected it to be."<sup>88</sup> Thus, just as the earlier statewide campaign had helped to produce a militarized sense of unity, so too did the national scrap drive seem to motivate Americans to work together as a unified force of scrappers.

There were, to be sure, other potential sources of home-front unity during the war; domestic propaganda was not the exclusive province of the various scrap campaigns. OWI, the administration's "official" propaganda agency, was well known to Americans for its attempts to unify the populace in support of the war.<sup>89</sup> The U.S. Treasury was also a significant source of domestic propaganda.<sup>90</sup> These government-sponsored campaigns even featured metaphoric appeals aimed at convincing civilians that they could become a sort of home-front fighting force.

Still, the Nebraska Plan was an early indication that domestic propaganda during the war would increasingly be decentralized. After the excesses of World War I's Committee on Public Information, many Americans no longer trusted government propaganda agencies, even when they allegedly dropped propaganda for "information."<sup>91</sup> Not surprisingly, the Roosevelt administration's series of official information agencies—the Office of Civilian Defense, the Office of Facts and Figures, and OWI—each failed to win the public's trust. By the summer of 1943 they had been either dissolved or stripped of their domestic propaganda responsibilities—victims, in part, of widespread mistrust.

The domestic propaganda that remained on the home front was a far cry from the "centralized" model. The Treasury's operation was administration-based but indirect; its stated mission was to build support for war bond sales. The War Advertising Council (WAC), the conflict's biggest producer of domestic propaganda, had only casual connections with the government. As an organization with little similarity to a centralized propaganda organization like OWI, WAC enjoyed a widespread following in almost every magazine and newspaper issue during the war.<sup>92</sup>

The *World-Herald's* three-week scrap drive was in many respects a precedent for this decentralized propaganda model. In July 1942, the Treasury's war bond operation was in crisis. Not until December, when it switched to a "drive" model in the manner of the Nebraska

Plan, did its bond program recover.<sup>93</sup> For its part, WAC was still organizing itself in the summer of 1942 and was not yet the propaganda machine that it would become in subsequent years.<sup>94</sup> WAC's later efforts, however, echoed Doorly's scrap campaign in their use of targeted drives and their frequent dramatization of the war effort. Not surprisingly, what may well be the only surviving copy of the *World-Herald's* booklet describing the virtues of the Nebraska Plan is in one of the Ad Council's archives.<sup>95</sup>

Doorly's innovative plan also appears to have been influential in establishing a major role for newspapers in the government's attempts to shape public morale. In the war's early months, "public information was being managed by no one in particular, and by many government officials in general."<sup>96</sup> By the summer of 1942, OWI was established to organize these chaotic domestic propaganda efforts. The *World-Herald's* dramatically successful scrap campaign thus emerged just as OWI was establishing its information strategies. As *Advertising Age* editorialized, the Nebraska Plan "demonstrates that when it comes to promoting and organizing community sentiment and action on a large and continuous scale, there is no substitute for the good American newspaper."<sup>97</sup> It is therefore no surprise to find that the Roosevelt administration soon learned to do everything possible to enlist the participation of the nation's dailies and weeklies in the battle for domestic morale. Although newspapers would eventually assist government campaigns for victory gardens, food rationing, war bonds, womanpower, and more, their first notable success was evidently the national scrap drive—which was itself patterned on the Nebraska Plan.<sup>98</sup>

As an influential model in the art of persuasive campaigns, then, the *World-Herald's* 1942 scrap drive, somewhat ironically, deserves more press. It raised awareness of the crucial shortage of scrap material, and it helped impact both local and national willpower to collect that material and turn it in. As a result, it played a major role in the war effort, affecting domestic propaganda campaigns for the duration. There

is little doubt that the newspaper's adroit use of symbols to convince the public to compete for prizes, even as they worked together in patriotic unity, deserved an award. As mentioned earlier, notice of that award—the Pulitzer Prize—arrived in May 1943. In the greatest irony of all, however, the actual medal for the *World-Herald's* Pulitzer Prize did not arrive in Omaha until October 1944. As Columbia University officials explained, with some embarrassment, there had been a lack of material to mint it.<sup>99</sup>

#### NOTES

The author is grateful for the enthusiastic support of this project from Gary R. Rosenberg at the Douglas County Historical Society, Lynn Eaton at the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University, and Andrea I. Faling at the Nebraska State Historical Society.

1. *Holdrege Centennial Commemorative Historical Souvenir Book* (Holdrege, NE: Ink Spot, Inc., 1983), 51. The cannons were originally from Fort Knox, Maine; they were moved to Holdrege in 1908. Although other regions had already contributed decorative cannons to the war, the two from Phelps County were apparently among the first to date from the Civil War era.

2. Irving Perlmeter, "Scrap Steel Rummage Urged to Avert Threatened Shortage," *Washington Post*, January 15, 1942.

3. John E. Bokel and Rolf Clark note that several steel mills did in fact shut down; see their chapter "Acquisition in World War II" in *The Big "L": American Logistics in World War II*, ed. Alan Gropman, 136 (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1997). On the Detroit and Youngstown curtailments, see "Steel Scrap Shortage Grows More Acute; Some Furnaces Close, Others May Follow," *Wall Street Journal*, January 6, 1942. At the time, Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board (W.P.B.), announced that the lack of scrap coming into the nation's foundries would soon slow or halt the production of steel, and that before long U.S. soldiers would begin to pay for the deficit with their lives, as noted in "Chance Remark Started Winning Scrap Campaign," *Morning World-Herald*, May 4, 1943.

At least one Web site suggests that the World War II scrap drives were done for morale purposes

and had little to do with munitions ([http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0800/stories/0801\\_0130.html](http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0800/stories/0801_0130.html), accessed June 3, 2006). I have found little contemporary support for this theory, and a great deal of evidence suggesting that the need for scrap was real.

4. "Chance Remark Started Winning Scrap Campaign," *Morning World-Herald*.

5. "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive (Transcript of the Proceedings of a Meeting of American Newspaper Publishers, Called by Donald M. Nelson, Chairman of the W.P.B., in Cooperation with the American Newspaper Publishers Association, on Friday, September 4, 1942, in Washington, DC)," ts., 21, War Production Board Policy Documentation File, 175-175.1, RG 179, Box 917, Folder 5, "Scrap Campaign: September 1942," National Archives, College Park, MD (hereafter NARA).

6. Although the *World-Herald* included both scrap rubber and scrap metal in its contest instructions, the newspaper focused its coverage almost entirely on metal collection.

7. "Chance Remark Started Winning Scrap Campaign," *Morning World-Herald*.

8. For example, *Nebraska: A Bicentennial History*—likely the most popular book on the state's history—deals with the home front in only two paragraphs. The *World-Herald's* own centennial publication does mention the scrap drive (and the Pulitzer), but there are, again, only two paragraphs on the subject. Dorothy Weyer Creigh, *Nebraska: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 203; Hollis J. Limprecht, *A Century of Service, 1885-1985: The World-Herald Story* (Omaha: Omaha World-Herald Company, 1985), 29.

9. Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

10. The *San Antonio Express* invoked this poem for the scrap shortage: "For want of that old iron gang plow rusting in the fence corner on the back 40, the battle may be lost." "Nebraska Plan Will Bring in the Scrap," undated clipping in folder "Scrap Metal Drive—US, 1942," Douglas County Historical Society, Omaha, NE (hereafter DCHS). This archive has bound galleys of the *World-Herald* from the World War II period, as well as several envelopes of clippings on the 1942 scrap drive; its collection proved invaluable for this research. Other state newspapers quoted in this essay are on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln (hereafter NSHS).

11. The *Christian Science Monitor* noted that "[a]t first Washington tried to run the scrap collection campaign pretty much from Washington. As a result most scrap collection programs were

inadequate." Harold Fleming, "Scrap Pours In as Salvage Campaign Scours the Nation," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 18, 1942.

12. James J. Kimble, "Whither Propaganda? Agonism and 'The Engineering of Consent,'" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91 (2005): 206.

13. Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 545; Paul D. Casdorph, *Let the Good Times Roll: Life at Home in America during World War II* (New York: Paragon House, 1991), ix. Recent research that examines domestic propaganda during World War II includes: Steven Casey, *Cautious Crusade: Franklin D. Roosevelt, American Public Opinion, and the War Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006).

14. Representative writings include: Michael Cassity, "'In a Narrow Grave': World War II and the Subjugation of Wyoming," *Wyoming History Journal* 68, no. 2 (1996): 2-13; Peter Fearon, "Ploughshares into Airplanes: Manufacturing Industry and Workers in Kansas during World War II," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 22 (1999-2000): 298-314; Deborah Fink, "What Kind of Woman Would Work in Meatpacking, Anyway? World War II and the Road to Fair Employment," *Great Plains Research* 5 (Fall 1995): 241-62; Bob Greene, *Once Upon a Town: The Miracle of the North Platte Canteen* (New York: William Morrow, 2002); Patrick G. O'Brien, "Kansas At War: The Home Front, 1941-1945," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (1994): 6-25; and Beverly Russell, "World War II Boomtown: Hastings and the Naval Ammunition Depot," *Nebraska History* 76 (Summer/Fall 1995): 75-83.

15. On the number of salvage committees on the home front in mid-1942, see Mary Brewster White, Director, Women's Unit, General Salvage Section of the Bureau of Industrial Conservation, press release, July 8, 1942, War Production Board Policy Documentation File, 175-175.1, RG 179, Box 917, Folder 4, "Scrap Campaign: January–August 1942," NARA.

16. Quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 17. Fleming ("Scrap Pours In," *Christian Science Monitor*) suggested that a nationwide dearth of volunteers hampered federal efforts to organize scrap collections, since "[m]any of the thousands of committees formed to get in the scrap . . . were little more than skeleton organizations."

W.P.B. also received numerous complaints early in the war that its scrap collection apparatus was overly bureaucratic, as exemplified by Robert T. Fisher to Reese Taylor (Chief, Iron and Steel Division of W.P.B.), August 8, 1942, War Production Board Policy Documentation File, 175-175.1, RG 179, Box 917, Folder 4, "Scrap Campaign: January–August 1942," NARA; this letter complains of the inefficient bureaucracy of Oklahoma's statewide scrap organization.

17. Doorly, quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 22.

18. "Chance Remark Started Winning Scrap Campaign," *Morning World-Herald*.

19. George T. Eager, "Scrap: Scoop for the American Press," *Saturday Evening Post*, December 12, 1942, 116.

20. Henry Doorly, "To the People of Nebraska, Man, Woman, Boy and Girl," *Evening World-Herald*, July 11, 1942.

21. The address was printed the next day as "Doorly Urges State Lead in Salvage Drive," *Sunday World-Herald*, July 12, 1942. Emphasis in original. The contest prizes, all in war bonds, included \$1,000 for the top county, \$500 for the second-place county, \$150 for the top individual scrapper, \$300 for the top business, and \$50 for the top junior club in the state. When adjusted for inflation, the *World-Herald's* prize package would now be worth over \$25,000.

22. Russell W. Davenport, "Life's Report: The Nebraska Plan," *Life*, October 5, 1942, 14.

23. "Nebraska Is Challenged to Lead All Other States' Metal, Rubber Salvage," *Sunday World-Herald*, July 12, 1942; "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 26.

24. Quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 26.

25. "Get in the Scrap," advertisement, *Evening World-Herald*, July 17, 1942.

26. George Grimes, "Don't Keep Scrap; US Needs It," *Evening World-Herald*, September 22, 1942.

27. "Phelps County Is Out to Win the World-Herald Scrap Contest!" advertisement, *Holdrege Daily Citizen*, July 17, 1942.

28. Reed O'Hanlon Jr., "Scrap Hunters Will 'Dig Needles from Haystacks,'" *Evening World-Herald*, July 18, 1942.

29. "Let's Go McCook," advertisement, *McCook Daily Gazette*, July 20, 1942.

30. "87 Counties Competing in Scrap Contest," *Evening World-Herald*, July 21, 1942.

31. Nebraska "Scrap" Plan Salvages 134,896,037 Pounds in Just 3 Weeks! (Omaha: The Omaha World-Herald [August 1942]), 2, in Advertising Council Records, 1935-1999 and undated, Box 36, Folder 6,

Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

32. *Ibid.*, 1.

33. Davenport, "Life's Report," 20.

34. "Dawes Jumps into County Scrap Lead," *Evening World-Herald*, July 23, 1942.

35. "Hooker Gets 26.45 to Top Scrap Drive," *Norfolk Daily News*, July 25, 1942.

36. "Red Willow County in Lead; 52 Pounds Per Person Now Record," *Omaha World-Herald*, July 20, 1942, clipping reprinted in Nebraska "Scrap" Plan Salvages 134,896,037 Pounds, 12.

37. "Grant County Soars to Top in Scrap Race," *Norfolk Daily News*, July 29, 1942.

38. Doorly, quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 23.

39. "County Lags as Salvage Drive Opens: 'Busy,' Is Plea of Many," *Blair Pilot-Tribune*, July 23, 1942.

40. "Hitler Doesn't Want You to Help," *Blair Pilot-Tribune*, August 6, 1942.

41. "Omaha's Scrap Mountain Reaches 605,167 Pounds; Map County Farm Drive," *Evening World-Herald*, July 22, 1942.

42. "Scrap Pile Bursts All Bounds," *Evening World-Herald*, July 25, 1942. On the scrap pile's ability to draw attention from out-of-town guests, see Davenport, "Life's Report," 12.

43. "Red Willow County in Lead," *Omaha World-Herald*.

44. "Hey, Let's Get Move On—17,324 Tons Not Enough," *Sunday World-Herald*, August 2, 1942.

45. "Don't Lag on the Home Stretch," *Holdrege Daily Citizen*, August 5, 1942.

46. "Will Observe 'Scrap Days': Red Willow County Can Win Contest if All Dig in and 'Pitch,'" *McCook Daily Gazette*, August 6, 1942.

47. "Hooker Takes Top Place in Scrap Drive," *Norfolk Daily News*, August 7, 1942.

48. *Ibid.*; "County Jumps to 6th Place in Scrap Race," *Norfolk Daily News*, August 3, 1942.

49. "Don't Lag on the Home Stretch," *Holdrege Daily Citizen*.

50. "State of Nebraska Executive Office, Lincoln, Proclamation," *Lincoln Evening State Journal*, August 6, 1942.

51. "Nebraska Scrap Drive Success Is Lesson in Press Leadership," *Editor and Publisher*, August 29, 1942, 4.

52. Davenport, "Life's Report," 14, 16.

53. *Ibid.*, 14.

54. "Red Willow County," editorial, *McCook Daily Gazette*, August 7, 1942.

55. "Scrap Is Needed for Victory," advertisement, *Evening World-Herald*, July 23, 1942.

56. *Newspapers' United Metal Scrap Drive: Manual of Suggestions: Prepared by Direction of the General Committee*, September 14, 1942, 12, War Production



Board Policy Documentation File, 175-175.1, RG 179, Box 917, Folder 5, "Scrap Campaign: September 1942," NARA.

57. Nebraska "Scrap" Plan Salvages 134,896,037 Pounds, 5.

58. "Chance Remark Started Winning Scrap Campaign," *Morning World-Herald*.

59. Nebraska "Scrap" Plan Salvages 134,896,037 Pounds, 1.

60. In this discussion, I adopt the cognitive approach to metaphoric processes popularized by Lakoff and Johnson (as opposed to the treatment of metaphors as surface-level figures of speech). Following their protocol, the use of small capitals indicates a reference to a mental concept (e.g., SCRAP), as distinguished from the literal, "real" version (e.g., "scrap"). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

61. Quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 13.

62. "Need of Scrap Iron, Steel Little Understood but Material Vital to America's War Effort," *Sunday World-Herald*, July 12, 1942.

63. "Keep 'Old Glory' Flying," advertisement, *Evening World-Herald*, July 13, 1942.

64. "Burlington's Rally Spurs Scrap Drive," *Evening World-Herald*, July 18, 1942.

65. "The Last Mile," editorial, *North Platte Daily Telegraph*, August 3, 1942.

66. "Fuehrer Soon Will Feel Our Scrap Bombs," *Sunday World-Herald*, August 2, 1942; "America's War Plants MUST Have Scrap: WILL YOU HELP?" advertisement, *Sunday World-Herald*, July 12, 1942, emphasis in original.

67. Bill Billotte, "On Vacation, Obtains Truck, Helps in Scrap Collection," *Evening World-Herald*, July 22, 1942.

68. "It's Not JUNK," advertisement, *North Platte Daily Telegraph*, July 29, 1942, ellipses in original. Interestingly, the ellipsis periods in the ad are formed by stars.

69. On the extension of metaphoric theories into visual symbols, see Stuart Jay Kaplan, "Visual Metaphors in the Representation of Communication Technology," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (1990): 37-47.

70. "North Omaha Jams Trucks with Scrap as 3-Week Collection Is Opened Here," *Evening World-Herald*, July 20, 1942.

71. For a more developed discussion of the CIVILIANS ARE SOLDIERS metaphor in home-front propaganda, see Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front*, 47-53.

72. "It's Not JUNK," *North Platte Daily Telegraph*, emphasis in original.

73. "Scrap Drive Plea Issued by Griswold: Likens State to Grid Team, Urges Victory 'In the Second Half,'" *Evening World-Herald*, July 24, 1942.

74. "Don't Lag on the Home Stretch," *Holdrege Daily Citizen*.

75. "Full of Scrap," cartoon, *North Platte Daily Telegraph*, July 17, 1942.

76. "Nebraska's Women Have Gone to War!" advertisement, *Sunday World-Herald*, July 26, 1942, emphasis in original.

77. "Let's Go, Nebraska . . . Let's Top the Nation!" advertisement, *Sunday World-Herald*, July 19, 1942, four-period ellipsis in original.

78. "Mr. and Mrs. Nebraska Farmer: It's Up to YOU to Set the Pace for All America!" advertisement, *Evening World-Herald*, July 30, 1942.

79. Thomas H. Pauly, "In Search of 'The Spirit of '76,'" *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 462. The Spirit of '76 motif was a recognizable feature of other patriotic ads in the 1940s. For example, "The Spirit of '76," advertisement, *Washington Post*, July 4, 1940. The motif was also prominent as a backdrop in the Warner Brothers short *Any Bonds Today?* starring Bugs Bunny, directed by Robert Clampett (Hollywood, CA: Leon Schlesinger Studios, 1942).

80. "Nebraska Scrap Drive Success," *Editor and Publisher*, 3.

81. Quotations in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 22, 29.

82. "Nebraska Scrap Drive Success," *Editor and Publisher*, 3; "The Power of the Press," editorial, *Advertising Age*, September 14, 1942, 12. The *Times-Dispatch* account is quoted in "Virginia, in Scrap Drive, Would Beat Our Record," *Evening World-Herald*, September 24, 1942, clipping in folder "Scrap Drive U.S. (Scrap) Sept. 1-28 (metal)," DCHS.

83. Quoted in "American Newspaper Publishers Scrap Collection Drive," 1.

84. "A Challenge to Nebraska! Kansans Ask Scrap Duel, 3 Weeks Starting Sept. 28," *Morning World-Herald*, September 18, 1942.

85. "Press' Scrap Drive Nets 6 Million Tons," *Evening World-Herald*, November 24, 1942. Nebraska finished sixth in the national competition, turning in another eighty-one tons.

86. "Americans Eagerly Enlist in Hunt for Needed Scrap," *Morning World-Herald*, October 1, 1942.

87. "Cabot Lauds Nebraska as Scrap Leader," *Evening World-Herald*, December 4, 1942.

88. "Clapper Acclaims our Scrap Drive," no source for clipping, September 16, 1942, in folder "Scrap Drive U.S. (Scrap) Sept. 1-28 (metal)," DCHS.

89. The best general source on OWI is Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of*

*War Information, 1942-1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

90. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front*.

91. J. Michael Sproule, "Propaganda Studies in American Social Science: The Rise and Fall of the Critical Paradigm," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 63.

92. Frank Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941-1945* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).

93. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front*, 34-36, 42-43.

94. For example, the number of WAC campaigns dealing with war themes numbered fourteen throughout 1942 but by 1944 was up to sixty-two, according to Frederic R. Gamble to nonmembers of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, April 18, 1945, Thomas D'arcy Brophy Papers, Box 7, Folder 11, Wisconsin Center Historical Archives, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. See also "Preliminary Organization Report," in 13/2/201 Communications, Advertising, Advertising Council Minutes, 1942-89, Box 1, Folder 6, Advertising Council Archives, Champaign-Urbana, IL.

95. *Nebraska "Scrap" Plan Salvages 134,896,037 Pounds*, preserved at Duke University.

96. Jordan Braverman, *To Hasten the Homecoming: How Americans Fought World War II through the Media* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1996), 48.

97. "The Power of the Press," *Advertising Age*, 12.

98. On the role of newspapers in domestic propaganda campaigns, see Cedric Larson, "OWI's Domestic News Bureau: An Account and Appraisal," *Journalism Quarterly* 26 (1949) 3-14; Richard W. Steele, "News of the 'Good War': World War II News Management," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 707-16, 783; and Mei-ling Yang, "Creating the Kitchen Patriot: Media Promotion of Food Rationing and Nutrition Campaigns on the American Home Front during World War II," *American Journalism* 22 (2005): 55-75. For a broader account, see Braverman, *To Hasten the Homecoming*. Of course, newspapers did not *always* cooperate with the government, as evidenced by the wartime battle between the *Chicago Tribune* and the administration. See Richard Norton Smith, *The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick, 1880-1955* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

99. "Pulitzer Medal, Given for Scrap Drive Campaign, Arrives," P.M., October 24, 1944, no page on clipping, in RG 014, World War II Project, Project Files, Box 6, NSHS.